THE TRIBUNE.

SATURDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 3.

FOR PRESIDENT. HENRY CLAY.

Mr. Calhoun's Position .- We crowd out our own articles this morning to give place to the ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN, defining his position with regard to Parties and the next Presidential contest. It is of course able, forcible and significant. It will be seen that Mr. C. peremptorily declines being a competitor before Mr. Van Buren's Convention, but does not positively decline being a candidate. We have no room for

We have more 'Hardware' facts, with a great deal else, inevitably crowded out by the length of Mr. Calhoun's Letter.

From the East Again!

By the politeness of one of the Post Office Express Messengers who had just returned from Boston, where he had been with the mail containing letters, etc. for the steamer, we were favored at a late hour last night with the Boston Atlas, from which we learn that ABBOTT has been elected to Congress from the IIId District by a majority of 63 votes over all others. So the Massachusetts Delegation is now full. The vote stands for Amos Abbott, Whig, 3,930; Osgood, Loco, 3,065; scattering, 302. At the 1st January trial Abbott received 3,132; Mansur, 2,454; seattering, 892. Whig gain, 277.

When the messenger left Boston at 21 o'clock on Thursday, fifteen hundred men were at work endeavoring to clear away the ice, so as to let the Britannia put to sea, but he thought the chances decidedly against her getting off that day, as the ice was supposed to extend some six or seven miles out.

Mails and Expresses. We received yesterday three Boston Mailsthe first which had reached us since the preceding Sunday morning. Meantime, all these advices had been anticipated on preceding days by the Expresses; Harnden's having brought us Tuesday's Boston papers on Wednesday night, and Wednesday's (evening included) on Thursday night. But for the Expresses, Boston and all Down East would have remained 'snowed under' to our City and all South of us from Saturday night to the succeeding Friday. Meantime, the same routes were open to the Mails as to the Expresses; and they were under the same obligations to despatch. But they were conducted on a different footing. Our Postmaster was dining and wining great men at Washington, to promote certain cherished purposes, while Harnden, and Adams and Hall, were hiring swift teams, getting aboard themselves, and pushing off express through cold and darkness to Boston. Their letters were at Boston in season for the Steamship,

Harnden carrying his own Mail, and paying the

Government full postage for doing the business

they didn't do, and wouldn't do properly. So

It has been the fashion of our Postmaster to advertise that all Letters for the Steamships must be sent through the Mails and the Postage paid, else they would stand next to no chance to be sent. This is gammon. Mr. Hale, (who has hitherto alone advertised to take letters to the steamships at less than Postage) has always gone on himself, and seen his letters put into the Steamship's Mailbags. But it turns out that a part of the regular U. S. Mail made up here for the Steamship of the 15th December did not go in that ship -that it was left behind by some gross blunder at Norwich, and so lay over. Now it became the imperative duty of the Boston Postmaster to give notice of this miscarriage-to return the letters here, and enable the writers to send them by packets or apprise their Foreign Correspondents of the difficulty. But nothing like this was done -the Postmaster maintained a profound silence; the writers of the letters were left in the undoubting conviction that their letters had been sent and received; and were astounded on the arrival of the last Steamer by the receipt of letters of inquiry, wishing to know why they had not written or remitted according to promise! Mr. Postmaster Graham, hereupon applied to Mr. Postmaster Greene on the subject, and he replies with the coolest imperturbability that the letters were left behind at Norwich, but were all forwarded by the Steamship of Jan. 1st-sixteen days behind time! No regret-no explanation of his profound silence-no shadow of apology for

the cruel mischief. -It gives us no pleasure to state these facts. We wish they did not exist. But the facts are so; and it is a fact that James W. Hale has an office in Wall-street where letters are daily forwarded to and received from Boston at a postage of six cents, (against the 183 charged by the Government,) and his letters are delivered into the bargain, for which the Government charges two cents more; and his letters of Monday reached Boston on Wednesday, while the Government's had not done so up to our last advices. So the American Mail Company' is carrying letters for six cents to Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and daily extending its business.

All this must be stopped. One Post Office establishment for the whole country is far better and cheaper than a dozen. There must be but one Mail, and the others must be used up. But to effect this the Government must greatly reduce its rates of Postage and invigorate its Mail service. Let it take that course-decidedly, thoroughly-and public sentiment will rally to its support, and the work be done.

In the table of comparative prices of Wood Screws. (British column.) in our last article, the item of 'Inte est' (by a disarrangement of the types after the proof had been read) was made \$33.6 instead of \$1.63, and 'Freight' 40.5 instead of \$1.50. The error was obvious.

MAINE.-Returns have been received from all the towns of the VIIth Congressional District except 18, and strong hopes are entertained of the election of the Whig candidate. The vote stands for Robinson, Whig, 3,362; Cary, Loco, 3,178; scattering, 118; Robinson over all. 66. At the last election the vote stood in the same towns, for Robinson, 1,922; Cary, 2,057; scattering, 330. Majority against Robinson, 465. A rain of 39 votes in the towns to be heard from will secure the election.

IF Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER has written a letter to the Whigs of New-Hampshire who requested the use of his name as a candidate for President. He refers the selection of a candidate to the Whig National Convention, expresses his conviction that HENRY CLAY will be there selected, and indicates (we learn) his hearty concurrence in that choice, and his resolution to support it .-This letter will soon appear in the New-Hampshire pa pers.

St. THOMAS'S CHURCH.-We understand that the Rev. Mr. Whitehouse of Rochester, has accepted the call of the above Church to become their pastor.

Mr. Calhoun's Position Defined.

ROOM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. ? CHARLESTON, S. C., Jan. 23, 1844. To the Editors of the Courier:

We enclose to you for publication a letter to us and an address from the Hon. J. C. Calhoun to his friends and supporters, giving his reasons for withholding his name as a Candidate for the Presidency, from the Convention which is to assemble in Baltimore, on the 4th Monday in May next.

In placing this document in your hands for publication, it is proper to state, that although transmitted to this Committee, to be through them submitted to the public, the absence of many of its members prevented the assembling of a quorum until this day, when its publication was directed in accordance with the wishes of Mr. Calhoun.

FORT HILL, Dec 21, 1813. Gentlemen: I herewith enclose you, as the organ of those who have nominated me for the Fresidency in this State, sub ject to a Convention fairly constituted, an Address to my po litical friends and supporters, assigning my reasons for not ermitting my name to go before the proposed Convention to e held in Baltimere in May next. I transmit it to you, because deem it respectful and proper to make it known to those to whom it is addressed, through you, and in order to afford you an opportunity to take such measures in relation to it, as you may deem proper, if indeed, you should deem any necessary All I have to request is, that its publication should not be un necessarily delayed.

With great respect, I am. &c. JOHN C. CALHOUN. [Signed] Hon. JACOB BOND PON and other members of the Committee.

The Address of Mr. Calhoun to his politi

cal Friends and Supporters. I have left it to you, my friends and supporters. hrough whose favorable estimate of my qualificaions, my name has been presented to the people of the United States, for the office of Chief Magistrate, to conduct the canvass on such principles and in such manner, as you might think best. But, in so loing, I did not waive my right to determine on my individual responsibility, what course my duty might compel me to pursue ultimately, nor have I been an inattentive observer of the canvass and the course you have taken.

It affords me pleasure to be enabled to say, that on all leading questions, growing out of the canvass, I heartily concurred with you, in the grounds you took, and especially those relating to the mode in which the delegates to the proposed Convention to be held in Baltimore should be appointed, and how they should vote. You have, in my opinion, conclusively shown that they should be appointed by districts and vote per capita, but your reasons, as conclusive as they are, have proved in vain. Already New-York and some other States have appointed delegates en masse by State Conventions, and one State (Virginia) has resolved that the votes of her delegates shall be settled by the majority and be counted per capita. Their course would necessarily overrule that, which you have so ably supported should you go into Convention and would leave you no alternative, but to yield yours and adopt theirs, however much you may be opposed to it on principle, or to meet them on the most unequal terms, with divided, against united and concentrated forces. The question is then, what course under such cir-

umstances should be adopted? And that question

you will be compelled speedily to decide. The near approach of the time for meeting of the proposed onvention will not admit of much longer delay .-But as your course may depend in some degree or that which I have decided to take, I deem it due to the relation subsisting between us, to make mine known to you without farther delay. I then, after the most careful and deliberate survey of the ground, have decided that I cannot permit my name to go before the proposed Convention, constituted as it must now be, consistently with the principles, which have ever guided my public conduct. My objections are insuperable. As it must be constituted, it is repugnant to all the principles, on which, in my opinon, such a Convention should be formed. What hose principles are, I shall now proceed briefly to I hold then, with you, that the Convention should be so constituted, as to utterfully and clearly the voice of the people, and not that of political managers, or office-holders and office seekers; and or that purpose, I hold it indispensable, that the delegates should be appointed directly by the people, or to use the language of Gen. Jackson, should be "fresh from the people." I also hold, that the only possible mode to effect this is for the people to choose the delegates by districts and that they should vote per capita. Every other mode of appointing would be controlled by political machinefew who work it. I object then, to the proposed Convention, because it will not be constituted in conformity with this fundamental article of the Republican creed. The delegates to it will be appointed from some of the States, not by the people in districts, but, as has been stated, by State Conventions en masse, composed of delegates appointed in all cases, as far as I am informed, by county, or district conventions, and in some cases, if not misinformed, these again composed of delegates appointed by still smaller divisions, or a few interested individuals. Instead then of being directly, or fresh from the people, the Delegates to the Baltimore Convention will be the delegates of delegates; and f course removed, in all cases, at least three if not four degrees from the people. At each successive emove, the voice of the people will become lessfull and distinct, until at last it will be so faint aud imperfect, as not to be audible. To drop metaphor, I hold it impossible to form a scheme more perfectly calculated to annihilate the control of the people over the Presidential election, and vest it on those who make politics a trade, and who live, or expect

to live on the Government. In this connection, I object not less strongly to the mode in which Virginia has resolved her delegates shall vote. With all due respect, I must say I can imagine nothing more directly in conflict with the principles of our federal system of government, or, to use a broader expression, the principles on which all confederate communities have ever been united. I hazard nothing in saying, that there is not an instance in our political history, from the meeting of the first Revolutionary Congress to the present day, of the delegates of any State voting by majority, and counting per capita; nor do I believe of any confederated community. There is, indeed something monstrous in the idea of giving the majority the right of impressing the vote of the minority into its service, and counting them as its own.-The plain rule, that which has ever prevailed, and that where a State votes as a State by a majority of its delegates the votes count one, be they few or many, or the State large or small. On the contrary, where the votes of all the delegates are counted. they vote individually and independently, each for himself counting one. And it is to be noted, that whenever this latter mode of voting exists among confederate States, it is in all cases founded on compact, to which the consent of each State is required. In the absence of compact, the invariable mode of vote in such States is in all cases by the majority, their vote counting one. The course which Virginia has resolved to take is in violation of this plain and fundamental rule, and destructive of the foundation on which the whole structure of

the state right doctrine is reared. I hold it, in the next place, to be an indispensable principle, that the convention should be so constitu ed as to give to each State, in the nomination of candidate the same relative weight, which the con making due allowance for its relative party strength. By the election, I mean the whole-the eventual choice when it goes into the House of Representatives, as well as the primary vote in the electoral

The one is as much a part of the election as the oth

er, the two make the whole. The adoption of the one in the convention which framed the constitution, de pended on the adoption of the other. Neither could possibly be adopted alone. The two were the result of compromise between the larger and smaller States, after a long and doubtful struggle, which threatened the loss of the constitution itself. The object of giving to the smaller States an equality with the larger in the eventual choice of the house, was to counterpoise the preponderance of the larger in the electoral college. Without this the smaller would have voted against the whole provision, and its rejection would have been the consequence. Even as it stands, Dela-ware voted against it. In confirmation of what I state, I refer to Mr. Madison's report of the proceedings of the convention. Having stated what I mean by the election, it will require but a few words to explain my reasons for the principles I have laid down. They are few and simple and rest on the ground, that the nomination is in reality the election if concurred in as far as the party is concerned. It is so intended to be. The leading reason assigned for making it is to prevent a division of the party, and thereby prevent he election from going into the House, where the smaller States would have the advantage intended to be secured to them by the convention, by being placed on an equality with the larger. Such being the intended object and effect, I now submit to every candid mind, whether the convention ought not to constituted as to compensate in the nomination for the important advantage in the election, which the smaller States would surrender by going into a convention? Would it not be unfair, a palpable want of good faith and subversive of the compromise of the constitution to withhold it? Or, if demanded, would it be short of an insult to refuse it? Can it be thought that the smaller States are so debased and absorbed

in the party politics of the day, as to permit them selves to be indirectly stripped of a right, which their high-minded and patriotic ancestors held so dear, even to prefer the loss of the constitution itself, rathe than surrender it. I object then to the proposed con vention in this connection, because it makes no con pensation to the smaller States, for the surrender his unquestionable and important constitutional ight. Instead of that its advocates peremptorily and indignantly refuse any, and treat with scorn eve attempt to secure it. Some have gone even so far as to deny that the eventual choice of the House con stitutes any portion of the election, and to manifes open hostility against the provision of the constitu tion which contains it!

If there was no other objection, the one under consideration would be insuperable with me. I differ utterly from the advocates of the proposed Convention in reference to this provision. I regard it as one of the first importance, not because I desire the election to go into the House, but because I believe it to be an indispensable means, in the hands of the smaller States, of preserving their just and constitutional weight in the Presidential election, and through that, in the Executive Department and the Government itself, which I believe to be essential to the preservation of our sublime Federal system. I regard the adjustment of the relative weight of the States in the Government to be the fundamental compromise of the Constitution, and that on which our whole political system depends Its adjustment constituted the great difficulty forming the Constitution. The principle on which it was finally effected was that, while due concession should be made to population, a provision should be also made, in some form, to preserve the original equality of the States in every department of the Government. The principle was easily carried out in constituting the Legislative Department, by preserving the equality of the States in one branch (the Senate,) and conceding to population its full preponderance in the other. But the great and dificult task of reducing it to practice was in the Ex ecutive Department, at the head of which there out a single officer. So great was it that it occu pied the attention of the Convention from time to time, during the whole session, and was very near causing a failure at last. It would have been an easy task to constitute that department either on the priniple of the equality of the States in the Government or that of population. To combine the two, in the election of a single officer, was quite a different affair, but however difficult, it had to be performed at the hazard of losing the Constitution.

It was finally accomplished by giving to the larger States nearly the same preponderance in the Electoral College, as they have in the House, and to the smaller, in the event of a choice by the House, the same equality they possess in the Senate; thus following closely the analogy of the Legislative De partment. To make it as close as possible, it was at first proposed to give the eventual choice to the Sen ate, instead of the House, but it was altered and the present provision adopted, for reasons which did not

affect the principle. It was believed by the framers, the practical ope ration of the provision would be, that the Electoral College in which the influence of the larger States preponderates would nominate, and that the House voting by States, where their equality is preserved, would elect who should be the President. To give it that operation in practice, the provision, as it originally stood in the Constitution, was that each elector should vote for two individuals, without discriminating which should be President or Vice President; and if no one had a majority of the whole votes, then out of the five highest the House, voting by States, should elect one, and the person not elected having the highest number of votes should be the Vice President. It has been since altered, so that the electors should designate which should be President and which Vice President, and the selection of the House was limited to the three highest. It is manifest that, if this provision of the Constitution had been left to operate by itself, without the intervention of caucuses or party conventions between the people and the election, that the pracical operation would have been such as I have stated, and such as was clearly intended by the

framers of the Constitution. The object intended is important. The preservation of the relative weight of the States, as established by the Constitution in all the Departments, is | it comes to that, it will not be long before the sword necessary to the success and duration of our system of Government; but it may be doubted, whether the provision adopted to effect it in the Executive Department, is not too refined for the strong, and I may add, corrupt passions, which the Presidential election will ever excite. Certain it is, that if the practice of nominating Candidates for the Presidency, by Conventions, constituted as they proposed, shall become the established usage, it will utterly defeat the intention of the framers of the Constitution, and change, not only in the Executive Department, but

This danger was early forseen, and to avoid it, some of the wisest and most experienced statesmen of former days, so strongly objected to Congressional caucuses to nominate candidates for the Presidency. that they never could be induced to attend them; among these it will be sufficient to name Mr. Macon and Mr. Lowndes. Others, believing that this provision of the Constitution was too refined for practice, were solicitous to amend it, but withous impairing the influence of the smaller States in the election. Among these, I rank myself. With that object, resolutions were introduced, in 1828, in the Senate by Col. BENTON, and in the House by Mr. McDUFFIE, providing for districting the States, and for referring the election back to the people, in case there should be no choice, to elect one from the two ment proposed, was to give a fair compensation to the smaller States for the surrender of their advantage in the eventual choice by the House, and at the ceived the general support of the party, but were objected to by a few, as not being a full equivalent to the smaller States. The principle embraced is identical with that on which you proposed to conreflecting that if others have since changed, you better days of the party. I was in favor of it then, as I am now, not because I consider the resolutions as perfect, theoretically, as the existing provisions in practice, more certainly accomplish what the and talents. They voted per capita, and what is strength of the respective States. In all these important particulars, it was all that could be desired for a nominating body, and formed a striking contrast to the proposed Convention; and yet, it could not be borne by the people in the then purer days of the Republic. I, acting with Gen. Jackson and most of the leaders of the party at the time, con tributed to put it down, because we believed it to be liable to be acted on and influenced by the patronage of the Government-an objection far more applicable to a Convention constituted as the one proposed, than to a Congressional caucus. Far, however, was it from my intention, in aiding to put that down, to substitute in its place what I regard as an hundred times more objectionable in every point of view. Indeed, if there must be an intermediate body between the people and the election, unknown to the Constitution, it may be well questioned whether a better than the old plan of a Congressional caucus

In taking the ground I have, in favor of maintain ing the right secured to the smaller States by the compromise of the Constitution, I am actuated by no partisan feeling or desire to conciliate their good opinion. If the case was reversed, and the rights of the larger, instead of the smaller, were invaded, I would with equal readiness and firmness, stand up in their defence. I am the partisan of neither one, nor the other, but simply a supporter of the Constiinterest and safety of each and all—the greater, as of others, as well the States whose rights are invaded.

the relative weight of the States abould be main- and braved the menaces of Administration and Optained, making due allowance for their relative party strength. The propriety of the limitation is so apparent, that but a few words, in illustration, will be required. The Convention is a party Convention. and professedly intended to take the sense of the party, which cannot be done fairly, if States having but little party strength are put on an equality with those which have much. If that were done, the result might be, that a small portion of the party from States the least sound, politically, and which could give but little support in Congress, might select the candidate, and make the President, against a great majority of the soundest, and on which the President and his administration would have to rely for support. All this is clearly too unfair and inproper to be denied. There may be a great diffiaulty n applying a remedy in a Convention, but I do not feel myself called upon to say how it can be done, or by what standard the relative party strength of the respective States should be determined; perhaps the best would be their relative strength in Congress at the time. In laving down the principle, I added the limitation for the sake of accuracy, and to show how imperfectly the party nust be represented, when it is overlooked. I see no provision in the proposed Convention to meet it.

But, in order to realize how the Convention will operate, it will be necessary to view the combined fiects of the objections which I have made. Thus riewed, it will be found that a Convention so constiuted, tends irresistibly to centralization-centralizaion of the control over the Presidential election in he hands of a few of the central, large States, at first, and finally, to political managers, office-holders and office-seekers; or to express it differently, in that portion of the community, who live, or expecto live on the Government in contradistinction to the great mass, who expect to live on their own means or their honest industry; and who maintain the Government, and politically speaking, emphatically the

That such would be the case may be inferred from the fact, that it would afford the means to some six or seven States lying contiguous and not far from he centre of the Union, to control the nomination and through that the election, by concentrating their united votes in the Convention. Give them the power of doing so, and it would not long lie dormant. What may be done by combination, where the temptation s so great, will be sure ere long to be done. To ombine and conquer, is no less true as a maxim, where power is concerned, than to " Divide and con-Nothing is better established, than that the desire for power can bring together and unite the most discordant materials.

But the tendency to centralization will not stop there. The appointment of delegates en masse by State Conventions, would tend at the same time and even with greater force, to centralize this control in the hands of the few, who make politics a trade. The farther the Convention is removed from the peo ple, the more certainly the control over it will be placed in the hands of the interested few, and when removed three or four degrees, as has been shown, it will be, where the appointment is by State Conventions, the power of the people will cease, and the seekers of Executive favor will become supreme. At that stage, an active, trained and combined corps will be formed in the party, whose whole time and attention will be directed to politics. It will be their sele business. Into their hands the appointments of delegates in all their stages will fall, and they will take special care that none but themselves or their humble and obedient dependants shall be appointed. The central and State Conventions will be filled by the most experienced and cunning, and after nomi nating the President, they will take good care to divide the patronage and offices, both of the General and State Governments, among themselves and their dependents. But why say will? Is it not already the case? Have there not been many instances of State Conventions being filled with office-holders and office-seekers, who, after making the nominations, have divided the offices in the State among themselves and their partisans, and joined in recommending to the candidate whom they had just nominated to appoint them to the offices to which they have been respectively allotted. If such be the case in the infancy of the system, it must end, if such Conventions should become the established usage, in the President's nominating his successor. When

ill take the place of the Constitut Such are my objections to the mode in which the proposed Convention is to be constituted, and my reasons for entertaining them. They are such that I cannot refuse to obey them without renouncing the principles which I have often avowed in public and private, and which have guided me through the whole course of my life.

In coming to this conclusion, I have not passed over, without careful examination, the reasons aswould be followed by a radical and dangerous | signed by its advocates for constituting the Convention as they propose. They have not diminished the force of my objections. I propose to notice the

most prominent. That which they have urged with the greatest onfidence, is, that each State has a right to appoint Delegates as she pleases. I meet it, by utterly denying that there is any such right. That each State has a right to act as it pleases, in whatever relates to itself exclusively, no one will deny; but it is a perfectly novel doctrine, that any State has such a right when she comes to act in concert with others in reference to what concerns the whole .regulated by the mutual consent of all, and not by the discretion of each. That the appointment of Delegates to the proposed convention is a case of this description, I trust I have conclusively shown. highest candidates. The principle which the amend- I have, I also trust, shown more; that the supposed right is perfectly deceptive, for while it claims for each State the right to appoint Delegates as it plea-ses, it in reality gives the larger States the right to dictate how the others shall appoint. If, for examtrate her whole strength, what discretion would she eave to others, if they go into Convention, but to ppoint as she has appointed, or to be ruled by her. It is then, neither more nor less than a claim to dichas proved in the present case. It has left no option, but to conform to her course, or be overruled,

I regret this, because I sincerely desire to preserve the harmony of the party. I had strong hope that the rally after the defeat of 1840 would be exlusively on principles. This hope was greatly strengthened by the truly republican stand taken at the extra session, and the earlier portion of the succeeding regular session. During that period of rigid adherence to principle, perfect harmony pervaded the ranks of the party. I beheld it with joy. I believed the administration of Gen. Jackson, in the plenitude of its power, and to come to the rescue of Mr. VAN

Having now assigned my reasons for refusing to permit my name to go before the Baltimore Convention, it rests with you who have placed it before the people, and assented to abide by a Convention fairly constituted, to determine what course you will pur-

Be your decision what it may I shall be content. But I regard it as due to the occasion, to you and myself, to declare that under no circumstances whatever shall I support any candidate, who is opposed to free trade, and in favor of the protective policy, or whose prominent and influential supporters are. I hold the policy to be another name for a system of monopoly and plunder, and to be thoroughly anti-Republican and Federal in its character. I also hold that so long as the duties are so laid as to be in fact bounties to one portion of the community, while they are oppressive on the other, there can be no hope that the Government can be reformed, or that its expenditures will be reduced to the proper stan-

Were I, with the evidence before me, to say otherwise of my course, it would be, practically, to declare that I regard the protective policy to be an open question, so far as the party is concerned; ad what I believe to be just and fair. I re- which I would consider, on my part, a virtual abangard the Constitution as the only ark of safety for donment of the cause of Free Trade. That can all; and I believe that in defending it, I defend the never be. I have done and suffered too much for it, when its friends were few and feeble, to abandon it, when its friends were lew and leedle, to abandon it now—now, when the auspices, every where, on this and the other side of the Atlantic, proclaim the approaching downfall of protection and the permanent triumph of Free Trade. I, who upheld it against monopoly and plunder, in the worst times, well as the smaller-the States invading the rights | it now-now, when the auspices, every where, on I have laid down the principle on which I rest nent triumph of Free Trade. I, who upheld it the objection in question, with the limitation, that against monopoly and plunder, in the worst times, | f3 lwist

position, when backed but by a single State-wil not-cannot abandon the glorious cause now, when its banner waves in proud triumph over the metrop olis of the commercial world. No, I shall maintain mmovably the ground I have so long occupied, ur il I have witnessed its great and final victory, if shall please the Disposer of Events to spare my lif so long. It will be, indeed, a victory—the harbin

er of a new and brighter and higher civilization. Much less, still, can I give my support to any can idate who shall give his aid or countenance to the agitation of Abolition in Congress or elsewhere; or whose prominent and influential friends and supporters shall. I doubt the sincerity of any man who leclares he is no Abolitionist whilst at the same time he aids or countenances the agitation of the uestion, be his pretext what it may. If we have ight to our slaves, we have a right to hold them in eace and quiet. If the Constitution guaranties the ne, it guaranties the other; and if it forbids the one from being attacked, it equally forbids the other. lydeed, the one stands to the other as means to an nd, and is so avowed by the Abolitionists; and on he plainest principles of morals, if the end be proibited, the means of effecting it also are. Of the wo, I regard the deluded fanatic far less guilty and langerous than he who, for political or party purposes, aids or countenances him in what he knows s intended to do that which he acknowledges is for idden by the Constitution.

It is time that an end should be put to this system f plunder and agitation. They have been borne ong enough. They are kindred measures and nostile, as far, at least, as one portion of the Union s concerned. While the tariff takes from us the proeeds of our labor, abolition strikes at the labor itself The one robs us of our income, while the other aims at destroying the source from which that income is derived. It is impossible for us to stand patiently much longer, under their double operation, without being impoverished and ruined. JOHN C. CALHOUN.

The friends of Gen. Lewis Cass for next President held a meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston on Tuesday evening 30th-Aaron Hobart in the Chair. Hon. John M'Keon of this City made the chief Speech, preceded by N. Gale and W. J. Walsh; and a long letter from Richard Rush of Pa., eulogistic of Gen. Cass was read and heartily received. The meeting is styled 'very large and spirited in the Boston Post; if it were so, with the mercury below zero, there must have been a good beginning for a new party.

PALMO'S OPERA HOUSE in Chambers-st. near the Baths, was opened for a final rehearsal to a select audience last evening, preparatory to its formal opening to-night. The house, though small, (or rather narrow,) is well arranged and beautiful; the Scenery superior; and the Music was good. The orchestra is especially effective and the hearers were highly gratified.

If this pretty house can be kept up in the, spirit of its design as a sort of Operatic Concert-Room-a quiet, pleasant, inoffensive resort for the music-loving, repelling the abominations which usually cluster around and fasten on the Drama, we shall hope to see it well sustained. Should it ever sink into a grog-shop and house of assignation, the fate it deserves will most surely

The Edinburgh Review, for January, is ust published by L. Scott & Co. It has instructive articles on Juvenile and Female Labor, Commercial Tariffs, (though the wrong side,) Niche let's France, German Novels, Ireland, &c. Of fice 112 Fulton-street.

HUNT'S MERCHANTS' MAGAZINE.—The February number of this valuable Magazine is out, containing many excellent articles. Its statistics are invaluable, and the bound numbers of such a work would form one of the best books of reference one could have.

ARABELLA STUART, BY JAMES .- This is the latest, and one of the best, of James's novels. The author assures us in his preface that it adheres closely to the truth of actual history. The brutal and frivolous tyrant, James I., and all his prominent cotemporaries figure in its incidents, and the dark character of the age is boldly sketched. The Harpers have issued it in a

"WANDERINGS OF A JOURNEYMAN TAILOR through Europe and the East, between the years 1824 and 1840, by P. D. Holthaus, translated by WILLIAM HOWITT," have just been issued in neat 25 cent book by J. Winchester. William Howitt's favor speaks well for the character and interest of the work .- How can any one waste evenings in drink or frivolous society, when the world is full of books at once so good and so cheap as at present!

LES MYSTERES DE PARIS.-The second part of the French edition of this work, published by Mr. Winchester is just out. We have before spoken of its merits. Those who wish the French edition can never get it cheaper than now.

LETTERS ON AMERICAN DEBTS, by the Rev. SYDNEY SMITH, have been collected and published in a six-cent pamphlet by J. Winchester. They

Music .- ' Eagle Wings,' a sweet Duet; and My Mountain-Home,' a beautiful Song, with the poetry by Samuel Lover, Esq. have just been published in fine style at Millet's Music Saloon,

FROM MEXICO .- By the arrival of the brig Lime Rock, we have received our files of Mexican papers to the 30m December. We learn, verbally, that Santa Ana had issued a decree expelling from the Californias and New-Mexico all Americans, citizens of the United States; but that our Minister, Gen. Waddy Thompson, had remonstrated so warmly on the subject, declaring that in case of its enforcement he would immediately demand his passport, that the decree was revoked within 24 hours after its promulgation. It is stated that the decree had been promulgated under the influence of

foreigners residing in Mexico which prescribes rigidly to the various authorities in the several departments of the Republic the duty of keeping exact lists of all foreigners who enter the territory of Mexico, of rectifying these lists every year, and transmitting them to the Central government, &c.

Bocanegra has resigned his office of Minister for Foreign Affairs, and J. M. Tornel has positively quitted the Cabinet. The Mexican fleet left Vera Cruz the same day as the Lime Rock, viz: the 8th, to return to Alvarada.

On the 6th instant, Santa Ana was at Vera Cruz with his entire aute.

The Mexican schooner Montezuma left Vera Cruz on the The Mexican schooner Montezuma left Vera Cruz on the 25th ult. for Campeachy, having on board the Commissioners of Yucatan, who were on their return after having settled all existing troubles to the satisfaction of both parties.

Much excitement prevailed at Vera Cruz about the period of the departure of the Lime Rock, on account of rumored quarrels between Mexico and Great Britain.

[N.O. Bee, 19th ult.

FROM HAVANA.-The U.S. brig Hayne, Captain Trescott, arrived on Saturday, brought advices from Havana to the 18th inst. The Hayne, on her outward passage, was detained five days at Key West, by calms. Maiame Damoreau, and Mons, Artot, who were passengers on board, gave a Concert at Key West during their stay.

[Charleston Courier, 20th ult.]

Ed. Mobile Herald: VERA CRUZ, Jan. 9, 1844. Sir—The U. S. brig Bainbridge, Capt. Mattison, arrived here on Sunday last from a cruise and sails to-morrow for Pensacola with important despatches from our Minister at Mexico. I understand that the Bainbridge has on board an Mexico. I understand that the Bainbridge has on board an American merchant captain and his mate who were committed to prison by the authorities of St Domingo, charged with having instigated the death of an English merchant captain in the Harbor of Genaives. They were released on demand of Capt, Mattison, and I presume are to be taken to the U. States for trial, though the persons alluded to acted in self-defence.

Since it has become known that an English Squadron was on its way to this port, the Mexican authorities, through fear, have sent their "Navy," consisting of two Brigs and one Schooner, to Alvarado, a small out of the way port some lifty miles distant.

fifty miles distant.

The U. S. ship Vincennes, Captain Buchanan, remains here until the 18th or 20th, awaiting the arrival of General Waddy Thompson, who has intimated his intention of taking passage in that ship on his return to the United States to visit

passage in that ship on his recurred to the family.

There are now anchored off Sacrificios, two English, three French, two Spanish and two American men-of-war—quite a

By This Morning's Mail.

TEXAS .- New-Orleans papers of the 22d ult. have Texas news to the 17th. Bills have been introduced into the House of Representatives-one to give the direct tax to the Counties, and another to alter and fix the duties on imports. The subject of annexation excites much interest.

The steamer Lady Byron struck a snag coming down the Brazos, a few days ago, and sunk in six feet water. She will be probably raised.

James B. Miller has been appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and Thos. Wm. Ward, Commissioner of the General Land Office.

The minutes.

The injunction of secrecy having been removed, publication The injunction of secrecy maying osen removed, publication has been given to an interesting message from Fresident Houston, communicated to the Senate on the 22d December. It paints in deplorable colors the situation of the Texan Navy, and is followed by a bill to authorize the sale of the ship Austin, the brigs Wharton and Archer, and the schooner Sar

Bernard.

An important bill was before Congress, entitled, An Act concerning the release of captive Textans in Mexico. It provides that if certain information of the release of the Textan captives in Mexico, be not received by the Parsident, on or before the first day of March, the Major General of militia is required to make a public call for volunteers, to repair to his standard at some place designated, west of the Guaddouge for an off-ensive campaign against the towns and settlements of the Mexicans, situated in the valley of the Rio Grands. It for the provides that the army thus organized, shall endeave of the Mexicans, situated in the valley of the Rio Grands. It further provides that the army thus organized, shall endestor to procure a sufficient number of Mexican prisoners, of the highest rank, and consideration, to be held as hostages for the good frestment of the Textan captives; that the warfare shall be transferred to the Mexican soil; and that the Textan troops shall be supported and paid by confiscation of property and forcing contributions.

MESSRS. SHRIVER AND WELLER .- There is quite lengthy correspondence in the National Intellirencer between the friends of Messrs. Shriver and Weller, from which we learn that after the duel fell through it was agreed to get up a street fight. The curious part of the affair is that Mr. John B. Dawson, the friend of Mr. Weller, soberly states that Mr. Shriver has acted cowardly in not meeting Mr. Weller, as agreed, outside the capitol and having a regular brute fight, and that his only reason in not pernitting his friend, Weller, to accept the challenge was, that Mr. W. should fight nobody but a gentlenan. Few men, we think, possess Mr. Dawson's refined discrimination. His is to clean a gentleman to fight a duel, but is dirty enough to have a regular ull-dog fight under the shadow of the capitol. After Mr. Dawson's defence nobody can doubt the laims of his friend to the title to "high-minded. chivalric gentleman and a man of honor.

MURDER IN FLORIDA .- Mr. Henry A. Nunes, captain of the bark Emperor, and a crew consisting of four white men, two negroes, and a black woman. were cast away on the 31st of December, in going from Pensacola to Apalachicola. While endeavoring to save some things from the wreck, they were isited in a friendly manner by two Indian men and one woman, who remained with them some days .-Taking advantage of the separation of the party one day, the Indians fell on the black woman and two of the men, killing the woman and one of the men and firing three shots into the third, leaving him for dead. Mr. Nunes and the others escaped to a house about 14 miles distant.

SUPPOSED MURDER .- The body of Mr. Daniel Polhemus, of Monmouth Co. N. J., was found last Friday between two piles of rails, and bearing on it marks that indicated foul play. A man named Reed had a quarrel with him the night before at a tavern, and was seen to follow him when he went tway. Reed's disappearance since the dicovery led to the belief that he was the murderer.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES .- No. 11. David Shriver vs. D. Lynn's devisees. In error to the Circuit Court U. S. for Maryland.

Mr. Justice McLean delivered the opinion of this Court, affirming the judgment of the Circuit Court in this cause, with costs.
No. 152. Nelson F. Shelton vs. Clayton Tiffin

and L. P. Perry. Appeal from the Circuit Court U. S. for East Louisiana. On motion of Mr. UPTON, this appeal was dock eted and dismissed, with costs.

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS. BY THE REPORTER OF THE NEW-YORK TRIBUNE.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Feb. 1. In SENATE, to-day, numerous private bills were reported, resolutions were presented, &c.

Mr. WHITE presented a petition for the appropriation of certain refuse lands in Ia. to aid in the completion of the Wabash and Eric Canal, and accompanied the petition with a few remarks showing the policy of granting the petition, the lands being useless to the Government at least at present, but the contractors being willing in consideration of them to finish the work, which would greatly develop the resources, mineral and agricultural, of the State, bringing into market a field of 300 miles of coal, an inexhaustible supply of iron ore, &c., enabling that State to discharge her entire debt in less than 12 years, &c.

Mr. Colquitt presented resolutions of the Legislature of Georgia, revoking those of the last Legislature, and sanctioning the course of Hon. Mr. BERRIEN. Mr. C. justified the last Legislature (in censuring his colleague and refusing to acknowledge him as their representative), contending that it was equally proper to denounces Senator as to praise him-insinuating, moreover, that the present was but empty, general praise of Mr. B. without defining principles-and declaring that they never would pass resolutions in favor of a Bankrupt Law, of Distribution, or of a Protective Tariff, &c.

Mr. Berrien, in a few words, expressed his regret that his colleague should thus, without notice, have seen fit to make this attack upon him; but he had lived in vain, if he was to be moved by such assaults at this time of life. He had never invoked an expression of opinion from the Legislature of Ga. (as alleged by Mr. C.) His appeal had been to the people of that State and of the United States; and three times had the people of Ga. responded in language not to be misunderstood, (even by his colleague, if they were so far to transcend their duties as the last Legis lature had,) and ten days after these resolutions, he had received counter ones. The doctrine of Legislative instruction he had denied publicly before his election, as he did now.

After farther remarks by Mr. C., the resolutions were disposed of; and Mr. McDuffield Revenue bill coming up, was postponed to Morday. The Senate passed to Executive business with which they were occupied till adjournment

In the House, Mr. Adams's report on rules wit farther discussed, or rather the whole subject @ veloped in a mist of verbiage by Mr. McCass LEN of O. As near as could be gathered, he wi opposed to the 21st rule as a matter of expedies cy. He denounced the proceedings of the Abo tionists; the great sensibility of England on sh very, while the great mass of her white popul tion were reduced, by her system of monoply, by her high protective tariff, her National Bas and funded debt, (the latter three and per consquence, the evils resulting therefrom, he upbraid ed the Whigs with seeking to establish in the country,) to a worse condition than the slaves of the South, &c. &c.

Mr. Giddings had hardly commenced speaking when the hour expired and the subject was last

The bill authorising a transfer of appropriation in the Navy came up, and was passed by 101 " 68-Mr. HOPKINS's amendment (intended to de feat the object of the bill) prohibiting the transfe as long as the appropriations are needed for the objects for which they were intended, having been adopted, Yeas 105, Nays 58.

The House in Committee of the Whole on the Union, refusing (noes 60, ayes 59) to take up the Oregon bill, on motion of Mr. McKay, proceeded to consider the Indian Appropriation bill. Mr. Giddings, on an amendment which he

subsequently withdrew, complained that this ap propriation had been applied to paying India for catching runaway slaves, &c. Messrs. Payne and Cave Johnson replied, with their usual bitterness of feeling towards Mr. G.

Without action, the House adjourned.

Two Performances to day at the American Museum the first at 3 o'clock afternoon, the second at 7 in the